

PEACE NEWS

No. 968 Jan. 14, 1955 4d. (U.S. Air Express) Edition: 10 cts.

Registered as a newspaper.
Entered as second-class matter at post office, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

IS VATICAN GOING THIRD WAY?

Peace can't come by placing trust in war

—Pope's message

The Pope's 8,000 word Christmas appeal for world peace appeared in summary form so briefly in the Press that full justice was seldom done to his arguments. The following commentary on this important statement is by STUART MORRIS.

IN the Pope's message last Easter some observers detected a change of outlook on international affairs. The most authoritative Catholic commentator in Rome interpreted that message as a criticism of those who would divide the world into two camps seeing all good on one side and all evil on the other.

It gave some hope that, following such a lead, neutralism might become an important factor in Italian politics.

MEANING OF CO-EXISTENCE

The Pope's Christmas appeal is an expansion of his Easter Message.

The appeal, based upon the Pope's conviction that his mission is to help men back to the path of peace, examines the meaning of co-existence, discussing the subject in three sections: Co-existence in fear; in error; and in truth.

He reminds his readers of the definition of peace accepted by Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, "peace is the tranquillity of order," and shows how the present conception of co-existence has nothing to do with true order. Each side only tolerates the other because neither wishes to perish in an atomic war, though each smarts under the fear of the other's military and economic power. No reliance is placed upon rational or moral principles.

THE ABSURDITY OF WAR

The Pope sees the most obvious absurdity of the situation in the fact that "current political practice while dreading war as the greatest catastrophe, at the same time puts all its trust in war as if it were the only expedient for subsistence and the only means of regulating international relations. Trust is thus placed in what is most loathed."

This, the Pope says, prompts the question whether deliverance from war and the ensuring of peace ought not to be sought on higher and more humane levels.

"But once the problem is elevated to this higher plane there again appears the absurdity of the doctrine that war is one of the admissible forms of political action, the necessary, and as it were, natural outcome of irreconcilable disputes between two countries, so that war is a fact bearing no relation to any kind of moral responsibility."

"How is it possible that while every individual feels within himself an urgent sense of moral responsibility for his most ordinary acts, the dreadful fact of war, which is also the result of a free act of someone's will, can evade the dominion of conscience?"

It is the Pope's view that the uneasiness created by the cold war is leading towards an authentic moral order and the recognition of the doctrine of the Church regarding just and unjust war and the illicitness of recourse to arms. That goal will be reached if, on one side or the other, statesmen before weighing the advantages and risks of their decisions will recognise that they are personally subject to moral laws and will treat the problem of war as a question of conscience before God.

□ ON BACK PAGE

Bail refused in Farley case

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

BAIL was refused in connection with an appeal against conviction and sentence by Christopher Farley, the conscientious objector sent to prison last week for six months.

The application was made to the Marylebone Magistrate, Mr. Geoffrey G. Raphael, on Tuesday by a solicitor instructed by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, Mr. Denis Hayes.

An application will now be made to a Judge in Chambers.

Christopher Farley, a member of the Pacifist Youth Action Group, refused to accept alternative service under the National Service Act. He told the magistrate before he was sentenced: "I am a Christian and don't feel it is possible to have anything to do with military service."

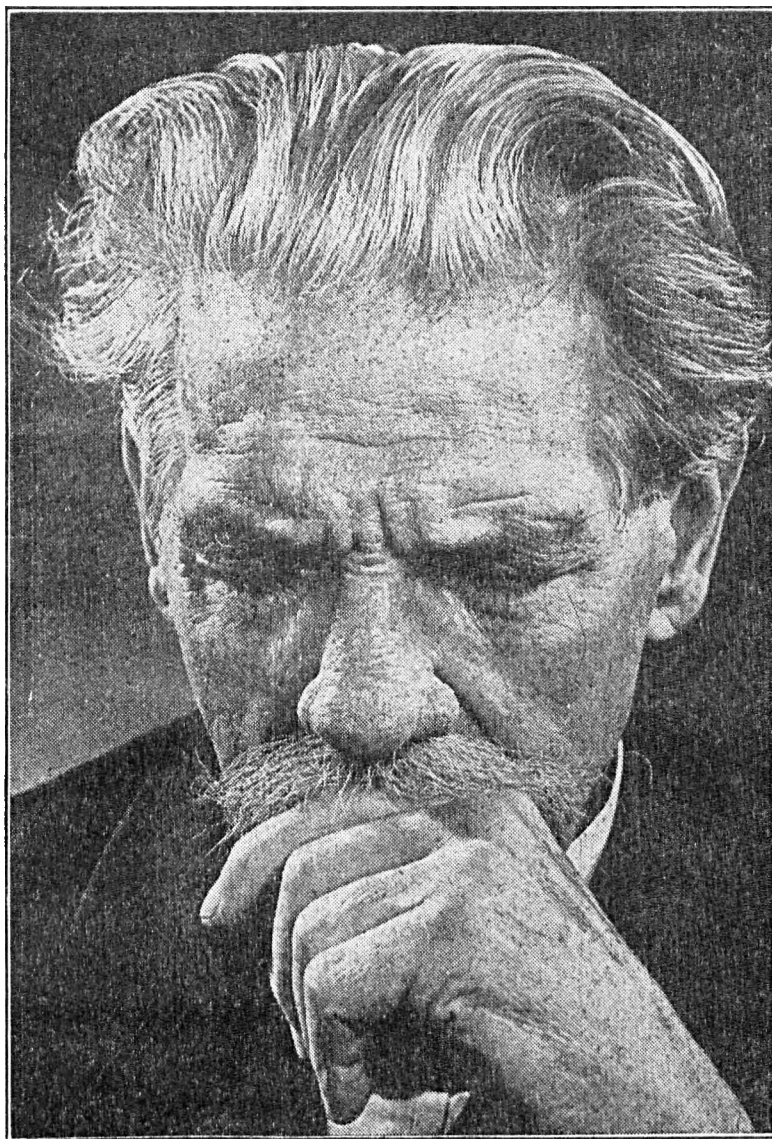


PHOTO: KARSH OF OTTAWA

"I am life that wills to live, in the midst of life that wills to live."

80 TO - DAY

Dr. Albert Schweitzer

Born Jan. 14, 1875

Doctor of Theology, Doctor of Philosophy, Doctor of Medicine; Hon. DD., Zurich; Hon. Ph.D., Prague and Oxford; Hon. LL.D., St. Andrews; Hon. DD., Edinburgh; Hon. Mus. Doc., Edinburgh; Member Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, Institut de France. Nobel Peace Prize 1952-1953.

They write about him on pages four and five:

The Missionary

—G.E. HICKMAN JOHNSON

The Musician

—SCOTT GODDARD

The Theologian

—KEITH N. KIBBLEWHITE

A STATEMENT FROM DJILAS

'For peace, bread and freedom'

The case of Milovan Djilas and Vladimir Dedijer has aroused world-wide comment and speculation. Both men, leading figures in the Yugoslav Communist Party, are expected to be put on trial shortly for activities construed to be against the interests of the Party and the State. Those activities consist largely in an attempt to foster political freedom in Yugoslavia.

TODAY there is no single corner of the earth which is not taking an active part in history. The fate of the earth is no longer in Europe, in the USA, or in the USSR, it is within itself as a whole.

Nowadays every nation has become a subject of history. In this way the world's coil has entangled itself but also united itself. Every nation is encompassed by a moral and material transformation, and this, despite the obstacle of the old world, is uniting all nations.

The fact that this transformation is taking place while old ideologies and social forms still exist only proves that the old world still lives and that it should be changed.

That is the world of colonialism, and today also of colonialism in its new form—in the form of financial domination whereby political sovereignty is only fictitiously preserved, that is a world of ideological

monopolism and bureaucratic despotism and finally—a world of national enshrouding, even if democratic.

The unification of the world is being followed not only by a growing freedom and equality of nations but also by powerful remnants of the past. The world is more united than ever before, but also more disrupted by controversies than ever.

In such a world we must fight, for its unity, through the equality and freedom of the working men, against ideological, political and material monopolism.

The new world which is being born can be neither a world of capitalism nor one of

monopolistic bureaucracy. It can only be a new world, a world of freedom and socialism, the way for which can be cleared by ideas and creations of the mind which have specifically before their eyes that new world as a whole, even if their starting point is within national boundaries and national conditions.

To the ideas and to the movements which understand this belongs the future, despite the extent to which the present can appear to them difficult and without prospects.

It is time that democratic socialism specifically—being solely capable, as it does not represent an economic monopolism, either of the state or private—becomes the standard-bearer in the fight against ideological, political and material monopolism, for the equality of peoples through material help by the developed for the backward, for peace on the basis of bread and of freedom for the nations and for the working man, and not on the basis of hunger and of an unstable balance of power.

Nothing can destroy or stop either those ideas or that fight, because they grow from reality itself, from man's irresistible desire to make an end of monopolism of any description and to live an ordinary human life, heart towards heart, thought with thought, without consideration of race, language and nation.

The fighters for those great ideals draw together and must gather even without prior agreement and mutual contact. The old world is hounding them, while the new one calls them to fraternity and unity.

Government ban 'space ship' talks

From a Correspondent

A NUMBER of proposed lectures by members of the British Interplanetary Society have been banned by the Government. British scientists outside official departments have no access to current information on rocket research, according to the Secretary of the Society.

The latest banned lecture, due to be given next month to the Midlands branch of the Society, was to deal with the atmosphere and space-ship design.

Although the United States Government permits the publication of material on rocket development, there has been a curious black-out on the subject of space vehicles since the closing of "Project Saucer," the US Air Force's special investigation of the Flying Saucer phenomena, although the Air Force has also stated that space travel will be a fact "within the next fifty years."

In recent issues of Soviet Weekly, there have been articles dealing with Soviet research into the problems of space travel.

Is it likely that the powers are thinking of extending the cold war to the hitherto undisturbed regions of the solar system?

Gaoled objectors

THIS JUDGE MUST GO — Quaker

TO THE EDITOR

I AM grateful to Hugh Brock for pointing out the continued obstinacy of the London Appellate Tribunal in refusing to give unconditional exemption to conscientious objectors who appear before them.

I have twice recently been to this Tribunal with COs whose cases warrant no other decision but an unconditional registration. The Tribunal says that because the boy joining the services has to make a sacrifice, so must the CO. I do not want to argue this point here, though there is a good arguable case in favour of the unconditionalist. But one of the boys whom I accompanied had already made considerable sacrifice for his conscientious objection and was ready to make much more, though not as a condition of his exemption from something he considered to be fundamentally evil. The Tribunal refused to grant the unconditional registration which it is in their power legally to give.

If this provision is not to become a dead letter, Judge MacDonnell and his colleagues must be dismissed from their positions on the Tribunal. I hope that the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors will once again take up this matter with the Ministry of Labour and, if necessary, through sympathetic MPs in the Commons. Those of your readers with recent first-hand experience of the Appellate Tribunal might also make suitable representations.

ERIC TUCKER.

22 Stoughton Ave.,
Cheam, Surrey.

Eric Tucker is secretary to the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends.

His Schweitzer sermon made news

A SERMON based on Dr. Albert Schweitzer's Nobel Peace Prize lecture made news in the Brighton and Hove Gazette recently.

The preacher, Mr. John Rowland, Pastor of Christ Church (Unitarian), Brighton, said that Dr. Schweitzer had stressed that peace was not a merely political problem. It was a problem of the human spirit. "The heart of man," the Pastor remarked, "is stronger than a bombing aeroplane," But the decision to be taken was, he added, an ethical decision, not a political one.

Dr. Schweitzer had pointed out that the weapons of mass destruction now in existence, and the others that might be developed in the next few years, were so destructive that they might knock out all the civilised nations, or even destroy all human life on earth.

"It is now clear," said Mr. Rowland, "that most countries—especially small and densely-populated countries like our own—would probably be knocked out within a matter of a few hours from the beginning of the next world conflict. We know that one atomic bomb on Brighton would make quite impossible all efforts at rescue work and fire prevention and all the rest. We know it, and it is this that makes it impossible, in spite of sustained government propaganda, to get more than a handful of people into the civil defence services, and that would make it impossible, without military conscription, to get more than a handful of people into the fighting services."

"These," he concluded, "may be unpopular sentiments, because they are things that are not often said, or not often reported. But they are true."

CO rights for army boys

ON January 25, Parliament will be considering those paragraphs of the revised Army and Air Force Acts which deal with Boy Soldiers. The Peace Committee of the Society of Friends has asked all Quaker Meetings to urge MPs to press for the inclusion of a specific right for Boy Soldiers who develop a conscientious objection to appear before a tribunal at the age of 18.

PEACE NEWS

3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4

Tel: STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

U.S. Office: C/o AFSC, 130 Brattle St. Cambridge 38, Mass.

"Is our race so destitute of wisdom, so incapable of impartial love, so blind even to the simplest dictates of self-preservation, that the last proof of its silly cleverness is to be the extermination of all life on our planet?"

—BERTRAND RUSSELL.

Playing on Hell's Rim

BY the end of the present century there will be an unarmed Britain. That is a prophecy that can be made with much more certainty than most political forecasts.

What has yet to be decided is whether this unarmed Britain will be a devastated wasteland with possibly a small and suffering population trying to maintain life in the face of greater difficulties than mankind has ever encountered in its history, in a world in which future generations will have been so damaged before birth that a great number of them will be living lives that are less than human; or whether the realities of today will have been faced in the mind—rather than in the catastrophe they will otherwise inevitably produce—and an unarmed and prosperous Britain will be making its contribution towards the general happiness and advancement of humanity.

We are prompted to these comments by Captain B. H. Liddell Hart's letter to *The Times* which we reprint on page three. His letter is of value because it sets out some of the consequences for Britain of another war; it also provides an example, however, of the dangerous capacity our statesmen and experts have today for blinding themselves to the plain facts of our situation.

Captain Liddell Hart is one of the most intelligent of the expert commentators on military affairs, but as with most experts his expertise becomes something that walls in his mind and prevents him from facing reality. "The supreme fact of the hydrogen bomb era is that war has become suicidal," he says. The moral is that there must be no war, and the way to secure this, he declares, is for both sides in the power struggle to be armed with thermo-nuclear weapons so that each will be equally afraid to use them and afraid to carry provocation to the point where the other side will use them.

This might lead to the conclusion that the services of military experts will be no longer required. Not for Captain Liddell Hart. He needs forces of high efficiency and mobility in constant readiness to deal with "guerilla-type action combined with political subversion, or local advances in remote non-vital areas."

It appears from his letter that Captain Liddell Hart reaches this conclusion after an examination of the consequences of the development of thermo-nuclear weapons. In point of fact, however, he was advocating this type of military development before the hydrogen bomb was invented.

What he refuses to face is the reality of the political situation for Britain. He holds that the soldiers responsible for Britain's military planning naturally desire to be equipped with "tactical" atomic weapons, but he takes the view that their use will inevitably bring about all-out atomic war, and that the decision on this point should be taken by the statesmen—and they should decide not to use them. There is however a prior decision to be taken by the statesmen on an issue that is completely political which should not be jumped by the soldier, even when he is as intelligent as Captain Liddell Hart. That is the question whether the Government of a small and intensely vulnerable island like Britain has any business at all to provide an "extensive gendarmerie" backed with forces of high efficiency to deal with cases of "political subversion."

It is this issue that is really at the centre of the problem of armaments for when our soldiers and statesmen talk of the danger of aggression by Russia they have not in mind the possibility of an unprovoked aggression on these islands, although that is the impression they seek to convey to the simple. What they have in mind is some limited but important encroachment by Russia in some quarter of the globe—or Russian resistance to an American or British encroachment—that may result in general war, in the early stages of which Britain will, in present circumstances be an important Russian objective.

The danger even of Captain Liddell Hart's cautious and "responsible" type of militarism is underlined by the report of the terms in which the US State Department is now thinking of "massive retaliation." This is to double the damage done by Communist aggression. "A Communist invasion"—not a Russian or a Chinese invasion, he it noted—"of, say, Thailand will not be met by retaliation on Moscow or Peking, but by a counter-attack twice as severe as the original at some place selected by us and our allies."

There is a horrifying puerility about this kind of thinking that today amounts to something like lunacy. There is not only the obvious consideration that this "2x" plan might be followed by a further Communist "2x" plan; but if America and her allies are to decide when an aggression calls for this type of retaliation Russia and her allies are equally entitled to decide when a capitalist-imperialist aggression has taken place and apply similar treatment.

They might even have decided that what happened at Guatemala was such a case.

Threat to Costa Rica

THE small, progressive democracy of Costa Rica is threatened by invasion.

The Government charges that a force of rebel Costa Ricans under an exiled ex-President plans to enter the country from neighbouring Nicaragua. It was from Nicaragua that the invasion which overthrew the Government of Guatemala last year was launched.

Nicaragua recently purchased 25 fighter-bombers, and this has deepened the suspicions of Costa Rica. The matter has been referred to the Organisation of American States (a Pan-American body) for consideration. Nicaragua and Costa Rica have been asked to refrain from hostile acts while the situation is investigated.

Costa Rica can expect little sympathy from the bigger countries in the OAS, especially the USA. The policy of her Government, under President Jose Figueres, has been to convert the country into a social democracy. This is rightly construed as dangerous for the huge capitalist enterprises which now have such an economic stranglehold on Latin America, most of them financed by the USA.

Add to this the fact that Figueres' outlook on foreign affairs is decidedly anti-colonial and tends to be broadly third camp, and there is plenty of reason to believe that the suppression of his regime is desired in high quarters.

There are few islands of democracy and political sanity in Latin America. Costa Rica is one of them. It would be a tragedy if she should fall victim to the forces of greed and power.

Internal struggle

ON the internal situation in Costa Rica, Frank J. Thomas, *Worldover* Press correspondent, writes that the enemies of Figueres are many and varied. The most serious just now, however, is former President Otilio Ulate.

Two staunch friends who fought side by side six years ago to end the reign of a Communist-infiltrated government, Figueres and Ulate are today bitter enemies. Real issue between the two is the failure of a move by Ulate's supporters in Congress to have the constitution amended so that Ulate, whose administration was good, might run for the Presidency again.

The backers of Figueres, believing that such a change would in the long run be harmful to the country, defeated the move. Ulate can still run, but he will have to wait eight years after leaving office, instead of the four years his friends proposed as a constitutional amendment. Ulate took the defeat as a personal slight, and since then he and his powerful newspapers have criticised Figueres at every turn.

Figueres, therefore, is caught between two currents. One large sector of the population wants progress for the country and has faith in Figueres' plans for economic development. The other, a small group of discontented political enemies, backed by Nicaragua and Venezuela, want to hamper him in his work, hoping to bring about enough unrest to precipitate a revolution.

Not to be ignored in the critical situation is the role of Guatemala. *Worldover* Press reports that the new Guatemalan President, Castillo Armas, worried over the extent to which hostile Guatemalans are winning Hemisphere support for their cause as it is being presented in Mexico, has turned to Nicaragua's Somoza to enlist the aid of his dictatorship. Somoza is not the man to give help, even economic, without a price, and that may be unity against Figueres.

Whom the Gods

BY the Western Areas Removal Scheme the South African Government is to begin in March the removal of 70,000 native Africans from their homes in Johannesburg.

The operation is to be conducted with omnibuses and bulldozers at the same

BEHIND THE NEWS

time so that as the Africans are removed the ground may be cleared of their dwellings. Those who have acquired freehold rights will be deprived of them and, of course, those whose employment brings them into Johannesburg will lose the convenience of being able to live near their work.

Some may find themselves better housed, some worse housed, but none of them have been consulted. There are many areas packed with dwellings much less fitted for human occupation than those in this Johannesburg area that are to be destroyed. These shantytowns, however, do not impinge so closely on area that the white man has marked out for himself. Those interested will be able to see in the crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields from February 1 onwards, photographs of some of the dwellings that are being left standing.

Unless, as we hope, the protest of the black population against what is being done to them in this and other respects can take the form of an effective and disciplined non-violent resistance and non-co-operation, at some stage it will burst out and set Africa aflame to the complete destruction of the Whites. It is possible that this Johannesburg atrocity may be the spark to set off the fire; if it does not happen then it is bound to happen some time unless the "Congress of the People" to be held this year can help the Africans to the control of their own lives and lead them on the road to peaceful victory.

The tragedy of Indo-China

American meddling in Indo-China has been fraught with tragedy from the beginning and unfortunately we have not yet seen the final consequences.

At the end of the world war the peoples of Indo-China, like the peoples of India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia, hoped to use the war-time expulsion of their alien rulers to achieve their independence. There would have been no possibility of the return of French government to Indo-China if they had not been assisted first by the British and then by the United States.

In accordance with the much-expressed anti-imperialist sentiment of America there should have been no doubt as to the attitude of the US Government. It should clearly have been on the side of Indo-Chinese independence. By this time however America had become involved as a protagonist in the world power struggle and all its liberal declarations had to give way to the needs of its power position. Consequently it became the role of the USA, not merely to support the imperialist power against the people seeking independence, but to press France against its will to undertake more and more military activity against its subject people. This had the consequence of thrusting the peoples of Indo-China increasingly into the arms of the Communists and of draining France of men and resources in a futile and disastrous struggle.

When the French realised that this struggle could be carried on no longer the US authorities came very near to turning the Indo-Chinese tragedy into global tragedy.

Now the war is at an end it can be seen that American policy has produced much the same situation in Indo-China as earlier it had produced in China. In Southern Indo-China there is today a corrupt civil administration, aggravated by the struggles over wide regions between private armies that are battenning on the local populations, with the French

and American Army Commands trying to prop up an ineffectual government.

While this goes on there is increasing support in the South for Ho Chi Minh, and his Viet Minh. There is no possibility of the July, 1956, elections giving a majority to the Party of President Ngo Diem. Mr. Ho Huu-Tuong, who wrote for *Peace News* on October 1, 1955, clearly had the hope that the democratic socialists might defeat both the American puppet politicians and the Communists. We fear that American interference will have made this impossible.

Not only will this be another failure of Western policy—another demonstration of the futility of thinking that military might is the solution to every problem in the world today—but it will bring with it incidental tragedy on a vast scale. There are for instance some half-million Indo-Chinese refugees from the North herded together in squalid refugee camps in the South. It is not a pleasant thing to contemplate the future of these poor people in view of the present chaos and what it is likely to bring in the future.

That agonising reappraisal of American policy is, of course, now going forward; but it is not the Americans who have to do the agonising.

Boom in America

THE staggeringly complex machine which is the American economy is getting people worried again.

Super methods of production, including the latest "Automation" (automatic factories), have boosted production and profits to the critical "over-production" point. This is the bane of capitalism, but a crisis which by its very nature it can never avoid because it always strives towards it.

More and more industries have been built, more and more new products created, more and more advertising employed to keep the market expanding. But even super-sophisticated twentieth century families have their consumption limits. They can only use so many cars, so many washing machines, so many television sets.

Armaments have had their uses in keeping the wheels of industry turning, but with the ending of the major wars and the tax-cuts for civilian industry, armaments now play a lesser role in the economy.

One of three things must happen:

1. The US will find new markets for investment and sales overseas;
2. The Government will siphon off redundant labour and capital into Government enterprises or relief to under-developed countries, or both;
3. The market will go bust.

There are many voices seeking to quieten the disturbed minds of those who see this situation as "too reminiscent of 1929," in the phrase of Senator Fulbright, Democratic Chairman of the Senate Banking Committee.

It is to be expected that the Government of the United States will have learned something from the slump of the early thirties and will not easily allow that situation to return. Nevertheless, there are no signs that any confident plan for avoiding it exists. Time Magazine's recently expressed hope of an expanding population keeping pace with an expanding economy is a little long-term to say the least.

One thing is certain—if the American economy goes phut it will not be for any natural reason. It is the classic condemnation of capitalism that it presents its greatest threat in times of greatest prosperity, because it depends fundamentally on scarcity.

But what a tremendous opportunity for the American people to escape collapse and at the same time do humanity a good turn by disposing of some of their vast surplus of food and manufactured goods to the needy ones of the earth.

This would not solve the problem of capitalism, but it would at least preserve us all from the dread prospect of economic decline. And such a gesture might give the American people cause to think again about the basis of their economic life.

Nehru, Tito and Djilas

LAST week I referred briefly to the Tito-Nehru statement relating to a Third Force and the statement which came right on the heels of it from Milovan Djilas, the ex-Communist Yugoslav leader, which by clear implication dealt with the same subject. I did not get round to dealing with these developments last week but in my estimation they are of major importance.

First of all, to those who have recognised that the sound position for those who want to work politically for peace is the Third Camp position, it is highly significant that two such important figures as Tito and Nehru—as a matter of fact the most important statesmen of the nations not clearly committed to one or other of the dominant power blocs—should have made on the occasion of their first meeting a statement obviously addressed to the whole world dealing explicitly with the subject of a "Third Force."

Way to co-existence

The main points which have appeared in the exposition of the Third Camp position are touched on in the Tito-Nehru statement. Thus it is clearly implied that "peaceful co-existence," which is not dealt with until next to the last of 14 paragraphs, is possible only if there is a strong group of what they call "non-aligned" countries. In what may be assumed to be diplomatic language they heavily underscore the point by referring immediately afterward to the fact that it is

two countries, geographically so far separated as India and Yugoslavia, that share "the general aims" set forth in the statement, i.e. "non-alignment". If the aim of Russia and the USA alike of lining up the rest of the world on one side or the other succeeds, general war becomes inevitable.

Tribute to non-violence

Secondly, Tito and Nehru explicitly distinguish their position from "neutrality" or "neutrality," which they reject as equivalent to passivity. Instead, their policy is, they assert, "positive, active and constructive."

In the third place, they illustrate how virtually impossible it is these days for political leaders to avoid the problem of war and violence and pay what in one sense is a remarkable tribute to the concept of non-violence. In fact the body of the statement is entirely devoted to it. They declare that "wars do not solve problems, but only render them more difficult of solution and, in addition, create new and more stubborn ones".

They return to the theme later by asserting that "the approach to world peace cannot be based upon force and the accumulation of armaments as an instrument either of the negotiation"—presumably this repudiates the "deterrence" concept—"or of the solution of conflicts."

Finally—still in language practically identical with that used by Third Camp advocates in rejecting the notion that a third power

bloc can promote the cause of peace—they disclaim any purpose to organise a "third force" since "such a bloc would involve them in the very system of alignments which they regard as undesirable."

While welcoming this declaration, I also think it constitutes a reason for renewing our warning that while figures such as Nehru and Tito, and their governments, necessarily "look in a Third Camp direction"—perhaps in a sense have one foot inside it—they nevertheless are not in the Third Camp, nor are they safe from the dangers they themselves sense unless they move beyond their present position.

Here the importance of clarifying the idea of the Third Camp and of developing within countries such as India and Yugoslavia genuine Third Camp groupings whose pressure can offset the reactionary pressures which impinge on men like Nehru and Tito, is seen.

In this connection, recent events involving Milovan Djilas, and now also Vladimir Dedijer, may be of very great significance and promise.

Wanted: opposition party

It will be recalled that Djilas was until about a year ago Vice-President of Yugoslavia and that it was fairly generally assumed that Tito regarded him as his eventual successor. Djilas set in motion last year a campaign for permitting the formation of an opposition party and

the democratisation of the Yugoslav Communist Party itself. He was deprived of his posts and in the course of the past year severed his connection with the CP.

Dedijer was Tito's biographer, another important Communist functionary, and the only one who a year ago defended Djilas in the Politburo of the Yugoslav CP. Dedijer has now been deprived of his offices in the Party and, furthermore, indicted under Article 118 of the criminal code of Yugoslavia for "slandering and hostile propaganda directed at damaging abroad the most vital interests of our country."

Djilas' statement

The train of events which has led to this indictment was set in motion by an interview which Djilas gave on December 24 to Jack Raymond, New York Times correspondent in Belgrade. Djilas could not publish the sentiments to be expressed in the press of his own country and obviously took this way of precipitating discussion and perhaps a major crisis.

Assuming that Djilas' statement means substantially what it says, he is calling for the development of a Third Camp grouping in Yugoslavia. He stated flatly to Jack Raymond that "another political formation should be constructed" and added that it "could only be democratic and Socialist" and could not

War itself must go

—QUAKERS

The following statement on the Hydrogen Bomb appears in the Annual Report of the Northern Friends' Peace Board (Quakers).

THE Hydrogen Bomb continues to overshadow our thinking, even as it overshadows our lives and the future of our civilisation. One of our first duties is to help perplexed and terrified people to face the problem squarely; unbearable though it may be, the horror must be kept, as has recently been said, "on the front page of our minds," for in that very horror mankind may find its greatest opportunity.

This demands a revolution in all our thinking. Catchwords, parrot-cries, prejudices and fears must be discarded, and whatever backward traditionalism still sits on the back benches of our minds must be over-ruled.

To help mankind

We feel ourselves to be on the brink of disaster or at the gateway of a fuller, richer living. What can we do to help mankind set its course aright?

Let us remember the choice offered by Jehovah to the Hebrews:—"For, lo, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil." Life through good: death through evil—even the "lesser evil" that war is said to be. We must rise to this opportunity of affirming the all-embracing validity of God's laws and Christ's teaching. Men everywhere can be found to agree that "no good can come out of war"; let us help them to see that out of good can come "no war."

Out of what "good?" The good that consists of justice, trust, reconciliation, freedom for the oppressed, resolute attack on poverty and disease, renunciation of imperial pride and military force; in short, the Christian way of life translated into active, practical policy.

We must, however, beware of falling into the error of believing that our problems will be solved if the H-bomb is abolished. Governments might, indeed, be less reluctant to risk a general war if the newest horror were eliminated, just as an aggressor can now risk a local war because the great powers hesitate to take steps that might generalise the conflict. For the Christian Pacifist the alternative is not between war as it was last time and war with H-bombs. The alternative is between war with H-bombs and no war at all.

Opportunity

This is an opportunity which tests, as never before in time of peace, our loyalty to our Peace Testimony and which calls for the devoted and persistent service of us all. A world recoiling from the horrors of the new weapons must retreat the whole path, and not merely retreat to the sort of war we have already known. War itself must go, for war, being by its very nature evil, always ends by unleashing the starkest of its terrors.

Let us address ourselves anew to the task of taking to our fellow-men, particularly to our fellow-Christians, this two-fold message; that now is the time to renounce altogether the sin of war and of its preparation; that now is the time for nations everywhere to turn their energies to the active pursuit of good through which, in the end, will come the fuller life of our visions.



Whichever Way You Look

"INVESTMENT WITH SECURITY"

2³/₄% FREE OF TAX
2³/₄% FREE OF TAX

Make the New Year prosperous by writing for Your copy of the free

"GUIDE FOR INVESTORS"

ERIC BALES, C.C. Managing Director

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY

20, BRIDE LANE, LONDON, E.C.4

LIDDELL HART AND THE HYDROGEN BOMB

"War has become palpably suicidal"

Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, one-time military correspondent to the Daily Telegraph and The Times and Military Editor of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, has long had the reputation of being one of Britain's leading military commentators. In a letter to The Times last week, he gave his views on the military prospects of a Third World War.

This is commented on in the leader column, page two.

Sir,—The further one thinks into the problem created by the hydrogen bomb, and its implications, the more questionable it becomes whether present defence planning is realistic. At the same time the effort brings a deepening sympathy for the planners because of the immense difficulty of bridging the gap between customary ideas of warfare and the super-revolutionary effects of atomic power.

It is very hard to relate warfare as known in the past to warfare where atomic bombs, missiles, and shells can be employed in hundreds or thousands, and where thermo-nuclear (hydrogen) bombs each measured in millions of tons of high explosive are also available in quantity. (The original Hiroshima bomb was equivalent to a mere 20,000 tons of T.N.T.) Once such weapons are used it is scarcely conceivable that the war could continue, even in a "broken-backed" form. The conduct of war is "organised action," and this collapses where chaos reigns.

In the case of this country, where the vital targets are closely grouped, it has been estimated that as few as five thermo-nuclear bombs might suffice, and that 10 would almost certainly suffice to blot out all its main centres of industry—comprising half the population. Still fewer would suffice to paralyse the vital centres of France, Belgium, and Holland. Moreover, paralysis, and collapse, can be produced by moral effect even where destruction does not take place.

To prevent such a catastrophe, air defence would have to attain nearly 100 per cent effectiveness of interception at the outset, and that is almost inconceivable. The most optimistic estimate from any authoritative quarter is that "one out of every four Soviet bombers" might be intercepted. In any case there is no means in existence or in prospect of intercepting atomic missiles. By 1945 the Germans had successfully test-fired a V2-type rocket with a range of about 400 miles, and had worked out plans to extend it—just before their research station at Peenemünde was captured by the Russians. The range of the V1-type, then only 150 miles, has already been trebled and its accuracy improved. London is 450 miles from the Russian positions in Germany, Paris less than 400 miles, while Brussels, Antwerp, and Amsterdam are barely 250 miles distant.

Hence, the only real defence is the deterrent power of retort. This is, however, a very potent safeguard against an attack of similar kind—or any that presents a vital threat. It would be the blindest of gambles for either side to base a war plan on destroying the other's power to retaliate. The Communist rulers have never inclined to dangerously blind gambles; indeed, they have shown themselves cautious in calculation to an ice-cold point. The idea of a sudden "knock-out" makes no sense where there are many airfields from which the "hydrogen bombers" might take off—it would be like staking one's life on picking out the proverbial "needle in a haystack." That conclusion applies both ways.

Unfortunately a grave risk remains that an atomic war might develop unintentionally. The authorities agree in saying it would be "mutual suicide," yet present defence planning runs contrary to that conclusion. The preparation and training of the western forces are now to be based on the use of "tactical" atomic weapons, with the idea of counter-balancing the potential attacker's greater number of men. The idea has attractions on the surface, but on closer examination the advantages fade.

It is hard to draw, and ever harder to maintain, a dividing line between "tactical" and "strategic" action with such weapons, so it is extremely doubtful if they could be used without precipitating all-out war, with hydrogen bombs. In such a war there would be little value in the armies (with tactical air forces) which the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is building up for the defence of western Europe. These could not maintain a defence once their homeland sources of supply were annihilated—and if their homelands were annihilated their purpose would have vanished.

A massive attack by "conventional" forces only has become very unlikely. For it will be obvious to a calculating aggressor that the less we are able to check it with similar forces the more likely we should be driven to retort with hydrogen bombs. The value of armies lies in providing a non-suicidal defence against attack. To arm them with atomic weapons is to destroy the case for maintaining them. In that form they would increase the risks of spreading a local conflict into a universal conflagration without diminishing the fatal prospect.

The soldiers responsible for defence planning naturally desire the maximum possible insurance, and it is not their responsibility to judge whether the apparent addition offered by nuclear weapons is outweighed by the increased risk of homeland chaos and collapse. In accepting the argument for such added insurance the statesmen may hopefully imagine that they can restrain its use until the need is clear. This is a frail hope.

The supreme fact of the hydrogen bomb era is that war has become palpably suicidal. Here is the real deterrent to the kind of attack that Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers, Europe, is planning to meet, and it embraces all contingencies except guerrilla-type action combined with political subversion, or local advances in

remote non-vital areas. To concentrate on preparing for the improbable is a waste of our economic resources—dancing to the Communists' tune in the self-exhausting way they wish us to do.

For the lesser, more likely, contingencies we need an extensive gendarmerie backed by "fire-brigade" forces of high efficiency and mobility, in constant readiness. Short-service conscripts are not suited to such tasks. By reorientating our defence preparations on the basis of the probable, great savings could be achieved.

The maintenance of the hydrogen bomb deterrent to a "Great War" has to be the primary charge on the defence budget. It calls for a strategic air force of superlative technical quality and performance, but not of 1939-45 War quantity—especially as its essential purpose is to prevent war, rather than to pursue the now obsolete and nonsensical concept of "winning a war." There is scope for big savings in ordinary bombing forces, and in navies. Moreover, as no air defence is capable of preventing a catastrophic penetration by "hydrogen bombers," or bombardment by atomic missiles, it is hard to see any adequate reason for large expenditure on air defence.

A realistic appreciation of the military factors could change the whole economic outlook for the better, while also providing greater security, by "putting first things first."

Yours etc.,
—B. H. LIDDELL HART.

Wolverton Park, Buckinghamshire.

In place of bombs

These two Korean workers are assembling a plough in a small farm tool plant at Suwon.

It was set up by the United Nations Korean Reconstruction agency (UNKRA) which put aside enough money to establish 12 such plants.

It is recognised that small factories for the production of agricultural implements must play a leading part in the reconstruction of Korea's economy.



"AID AFRICAN MINERS"—CALL TO TUC

The Movement for Colonial Freedom has sent the following letter to M. D. Nkolomo the Secretary, African Mineworkers' Union of Northern Rhodesia:

Dear Brother,

We have been following with great interest the struggle of your Trade Union for improved conditions for the African miners in the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt and, whilst there is little we can do in direct support of your cause, we wish to send this message of solidarity with you in your present strike.

In particular, we wish to state that we deplore any action by European workers in Northern Rhodesia which damages your just and honorable fight for a fair wage agreement with the employers. The interests of Trade Unionists and the working-class in general are identical—internationally and inter-racially. If the European Trade unionists in Northern Rhodesia take any step by way of strike-breaking they will in the long run also damage their own interests. We urge them to give you every support in a common struggle against the employers.

We are confident that the mass of Trade Unionists in this country would agree with us in this attitude and wish you full success in your present fight.

I am writing to you on behalf of the Movement for Colonial Freedom to which are affiliated Trade Union organisations representing some 3 million British Trade Unionists. I hope you will convey to your members our feelings of complete solidarity with you. We are urging our affiliated Trade Unionists to intervene in any way possible in your sup-

NOBODY would pretend that 1955 opened on a note of abundant optimism—but it wasn't such a bad note for all that.

The German problem has not been finished with—certainly the French PEOPLE have not finished with it, and there is a growing realisation of the need for the settlement of the whole European question.

From Asia has come the most hopeful news. The Third Camp nations plan a new conference for April to which Asian and African nations will come. It should have a powerful influence on the whole course of world politics.

In the field of our own organisations there is a revival of life. Conferences, demonstrations, brains trusts—campaigns of every kind are planned. There will be no shortage of jobs for peace workers to do.

And Peace News? We make bold to say that there are more people ready to read this paper today than ever before. Will you try a little harder in 1955 to put it into more people's hands? Assess for yourself the number of copies you think you should sell each week. If you can sell them, so much the better. If you can't, will you send us the money and let us distribute them for you?

In 1954 we asked you for £2,000—that is £500 more than the previous year. We needed it, badly. And you gave it to us. It was a great effort, in a great cause.

We do not work without purpose. The target of Peace is a high one in this age, yet we have faith that it can be reached. In 1955 the watchword is "Eyes Up!"

TOM WARDLE.

Anonymous donations of 10s. from Workshop and 5s. from Worthing are gratefully acknowledged.

Contributions since last appeal up to closing of books: £112 1s.
Total for 1954: £2,027 8s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.



PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Sufi Service

3.30 p.m. Sunday Jan. 16

King's Weigh House Church, Binney St., W.1

(Near Bond St. Tube)

Discourse by Miss L. Hayet Bouman

Dr. Schweitzer's

Nobel Peace Prize Lecture

THE PROBLEM OF PEACE

Reprinted from the unabridged text in Peace News

12 pages and illus. cover

Postage 1½d. 3d. 2s. 6d. doz., post free

Peace News Publications Dept.

3, BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER

... the Missionary

By G. E. HICKMAN JOHNSON

The Rev. G. E. Hickman Johnson, Chairman of the Methodist Peace Fellowship, was at one time Secretary of the Methodist Missions Department. His article, "Police Action in Korea" in Peace News in 1950 did much to spark a public protest against the use of Napalm.

IT is a fact worth pondering that a man who had become noted as a brilliant musician, who had astonished philosophers with his insight into the mind of Kant, and had startled the world of Biblical scholarship by the radical result of his QUEST FOR THE HISTORICAL JESUS, and then had buried himself in the heart of tropical Africa to work as a medical missionary in a hospital which can only be reached by canoe—that such a man should be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

And the more one ponders it the more is one led to corroborate and admire the insight of the Nobel adjudicators: they did not act without reason. They must have been familiar with the motives that led to this apparently strange action for they have not been hidden from the world.

A DEBT

Let us hear how this unique personality himself describes them: they are bound up with that supreme crisis facing the human race, the colour problem.

IN ON THE EDGE OF THE PRIMEVAL FOREST Schweitzer writes:

"Ever since the world's far off lands were discovered what has been the conduct of the white peoples to the coloured ones? What is the meaning of the simple fact that this and that people has died out, and that the condition of others is getting worse and worse as a result of their discovery by men who professed to be followers of Jesus. Who can describe the injustices and the cruelties that in the course of centuries they have suffered at the hands of the Europeans? Who can measure the misery produced among them by the fiery drinks and the hideous diseases that we have taken to them? We and our civilisation are burdened, really, with a great debt. We are not free to confer benefits on these men, or not, as we please: it is our duty. Anything we give them is not benevolence but atonement."

And so he went forth, he and his wife, abandoning further prospects of a brilliant career in music and science and letters, in order, as he put it to himself, "to try and live in the spirit of Jesus," or as he wrote elsewhere, as a converted Dives:

"Out there in the Colonies sits wretched Lazarus, the coloured folk, who suffer from illness and pain just as much as we do, nay, much more, and has absolutely no means of fighting them. And just as Dives sinned against the poor man at his gate, because for want of thought he never put himself in his place or let his heart or conscience tell him what he ought to do, so do we sin against the poor man at the gate."

His departure was called a breach with civilisation; a flight from reality. But the contrary was true. He went to do his part in atoning for the Western world's treatment of the natives of the most ruthlessly exploited continent in the world. He took up the cause of "the Brotherhood of those who are marked by suffering."

Having gathered together sufficient funds by his organ recitals and work on Bach, and his gifts from various Alsatian parishes around his birthplace, Schweitzer offered himself and all he possessed to the Paris Missionary Society to serve at its own expense in its mission on the Ogowe River at a place called Lambaréné. He and his wife set out on Good Friday, 1913 and within a month were at Lambaréné where a disappointment awaited them.

A NEED

Difficulty over labour had prevented the promised building of the hospital and Schweitzer started work as a medical missionary with a windowless, broken roofed fowl house for a surgery, using his bungalow as a dispensary, and the open courtyard as a ward. From the very first he was besieged by patients who came to him up stream and down stream from distances of anything up to 200 miles: in his first nine months he treated nearly 2,000 patients. Their need was greater even than he had imagined:

"I had during the first few weeks full opportunity for establishing the fact that physical misery among the natives is not less but greater even than I had supposed. How glad I was that in defiance of all objections I had carried out my plan for medical missionary service! When a poor moaning creature comes I lay my hand on his forehead and say to him 'Don't be afraid. In an hour's time you shall be put to sleep and when you wake you will not feel any more pain.' It does not always mean that I can save his life; we must all die, but I can save from torturing pain. An injection of omipon may be given; my wife comes to the hospital, and with Joseph our servant, makes ready for an operation; my wife acts as anaesthetist and Joseph as my assistant. If all goes well when the patient recovers consciousness, he stares around and ejaculates 'I've no more pain! I've no more pain.' His hand feels for mine and will not let it go. Then I begin to tell him and the others in the room that it is the Lord Jesus who has sent us to Lambaréné and that white people in Europe send us money that we may live and work here."

Lack of space forbids any extended account of Schweitzer's amazing service through all the intervening years since those early days. War came and they were interned; but release soon followed. The news of his work got out in Europe; other workers offered themselves to the society to work beside him. The work and buildings and staff all grew: a new hospital was built on a new site; the name of Schweitzer became one to conjure with, not in Central Africa alone, but throughout Europe and the Western world.

A LIFE OF SERVICE

On returning home for furlough he would carry through an exhausting programme of lectures on his work on philosophical problems, and of Bach recitals. All the while he worked at his hospital he was thinking on the deepest problem of life: the meaning and purpose of existence. The war had shocked him into deep thought on this question. Civilisation seemed to have cracked. Why? Because the nations seemed to have no sound world view of the meaning of life. On such a profound topic, together with the re-interpretation of St. Paul, did the mind of this amazing person ponder for years. Later he lectured and wrote upon them; in "My Life and Thought" published during one of his furloughs, one finds his philosophy of civilisation.

Have the versatility, the brilliance, the selfless devotion, the fearless courage, the tireless energy, the unique service of this unequalled personality in any way made their appearance through these lines of print? If so it can be but a pale reflection of the true wonder of this servant of God's Kingdom, who, though buried in Central Africa for 40 years, has received showers of honours in many lands, culminating in the Nobel Peace Prize, and who now, by the Grace of God has reached his eightieth birthday.

May he live to serve for many more years to come!



Dr. Schweitzer's love for animals goes hand in hand with his instinctive respect for all living creatures. He has never been known to kill a wild animal, and somehow the beasts of the forest know that in the hospital grounds they will find a safe home. Artist Fritz Hug was delighted to find that he could use living models for his animal paintings. Besides deer, parrots, and pelicans, he found a plentiful supply of African animals roaming the hospital territory. Here he paints two of Dr. Schweitzer's best friends, "Lucy" and "Leonore," who live directly underneath Dr. Schweitzer's two-room wooden house (background). Dr. Schweitzer pats "Lucy's" head as Hug paints.

... the Theologian and Philosopher

WHEREIN is the significance—and importance—of the theology of Schweitzer for the present day?

When J. K. Mozley in his book DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT wrote, "Into the camp of German Liberalism burst like a bomb-shell, Schweitzer's 'VON REIMARUS ZU WREDE'—'THE QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS'—he was but stating a truism. That was fifty years ago, and Schweitzer's thought has continued to influence the whole trend of twentieth century theology ever since.

His teaching

But to understand Schweitzer we must go back a little. The first application of modern "criticism" to the Gospels had resulted in a picture of Jesus as a "liberal" teacher, pronouncing on the universal Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, and with the Kingdom of God regarded as the embodiment of social righteousness. In short, the Liberal school of theologians, as they were called, had made Jesus the master reformer and teacher. There was, of course, some strong element of truth in this picture, but it was unfortunately an over-simplification of the facts as but a cursory reading of the Gospels will show. It was this picture which the work of Schweitzer was destined to destroy.

Broadly speaking, Schweitzer's position is as follows. He finds in the many passages in the Gospels which speak of the imminent coming of the Kingdom—with the Son of Man as Messiah—evidence for the belief that Jesus lived in daily expectation of this End. Jesus' mind was completely dominated by what is called this eschatological attitude. There was to be a time of pre-Messianic tribulation, then the coming of the Son "on the clouds," followed by a resurrection of the dead, Judgment and the final inauguration of the Kingdom. This secret of His own Sonship He kept to Himself from His baptism onwards . . . so much so that both the Baptist and the crowds in general thought of Him as the Elijah—although He intimated to John that this was not the case. Schweitzer was influenced by the tenth and eleventh chapters of Matthew where on sending out His disciples He warns them that they will not have gone through the cities of Israel until the Son of Man has come. But when the disciples returned and no Kingdom had appeared Jesus was perforce obliged to revise his ideas.

Accordingly, if we are to follow Schweitzer, Jesus came to the conclusion that He Himself must bring in the Messianic era. The pre-Messianic tribulation had not come—He must bring it on Himself—He must go to Jerusalem—to die—to "bring in" the Kingdom. It was thus at Caesarea Philippi that Jesus revealed His plan to the disciples, telling them not only of His Messiahship, but also of the "dying" in Jerusalem which He must accomplish. What Judas betrayed to the High Priest was not the whereabouts of Jesus (which Schweitzer thinks could easily have been discovered by

By KEITH N. KIBBLEWHITE

Jesus' opponents), but the fact of His Messiahship. The anticipated Resurrection which was to follow was for Jesus but one step further towards the goal of the Parousia. To quote the words of Schweitzer:

"Jesus lays hold of the wheel of the world to set it moving on that last revolution which is to bring all ordinary history to a close. It refuses to turn and He throws Himself upon it. Then it does turn; and crushes Him. . . . The mangled body of the one immeasurably great Man . . . is hanging upon it still. That is His victory and His reign."

But how far can we go in sympathy with Schweitzer? Is he not open to the criticism of making the teaching of Jesus merely "interim-ethics"—relevant only to the immediate remaining period before the Kingdom comes? Does not Jesus become almost a deluded fanatic whose promises and prophecies were not fulfilled? Even after taking into account such passages as Mark 9 v. 1 and Matthew 25 v. 31 many scholars have felt that Schweitzer has over-stated his case. Some, such as C. H. Dood, would see in the teaching of Jesus sound evidence that the Kingdom has already come ("realised eschatology"), whilst others, notably C. J. Cadoux, have pointed out that the idea of a "future" and "present" Kingdom need not be at variance—the actual seeds of the Kingdom are already present, but the complete realisation is in the future.

Schweitzer's answer

On the other hand, Schweitzer has his answer. He would point back to the evidence of the Gospels and St. Paul, which for him is conclusive in its eschatological interpretation. "The fact that Jesus thinks of the realisation of the Kingdom of God in a way that is not justified by the events does not call in question His authority as a unique revealer

of spiritual truth: it only challenges the traditional view of His personality and authority." Even if the historical Jesus "stands before us as one who shared naturally the outlook of His time, . . . to me Jesus remains what He was . . . in Him is the supreme spiritual and religious authority."

The essential test of Schweitzer's standpoint must be found, however, in the faith and everyday life of the man himself. It is here that we see the full working out of his theology and his philosophy. Jesus is no mere personality of the past. He may have been limited in His views and aims in His calculations, but He is for Schweitzer a living personality who has immeasurable influence over our lives—if we will allow ourselves to come under His influence. In Schweitzer we see theory transformed into practice. His philosophy—so simply stated as "Reverence for Life"—cannot really be understood apart from his "theology". It finds completion only in the religious life. "Mankind today must either realise the Kingdom of God, or perish. . . . Belief in the Kingdom of God makes the biggest demands of all the articles of the Christian Faith."

Such is the philosophy, the faith, of Schweitzer. The faith of a man whose approach to the Historic Christ "burst like a bomb-shell" on twentieth century Europe. The faith of a man who still sways thousands by his life and example. Schweitzer has challenged the orthodox views of the Christ in startling manner, but he has never discarded the central Character. On the contrary he has made Him live anew. Therein perhaps is Schweitzer's greatness.

KEITH N. KIBBLEWHITE, who has studied theology for the past fifteen years, is a contributor to many journals, and is closely connected with the field of education where he has held teaching appointments. He has also undertaken lecture work and is a University examiner.

From the thought of Schweitzer

"THE ethic of Reverence for Life puts into our hands weapons for fighting false ethics and false ideals, but we have the strength to use them only so far as we—each one in his own life—preserve our humanity. Only when those men are numerous who in thought and action bring humanity to terms with reality, will humanity cease to be current as a mere sentimental idea and become what it ought to be, a leaven in the spirit and temper of individuals and of society."

"LET a man once begin to think about the mystery of his life and the links which connect him with the life that fills the world, and he cannot but bring to bear upon his own life and all other life that comes within his reach the principle of Reverence for Life, and manifest this principle

by ethical world- and life-affirmation expressed in action. Existence will thereby become harder for him in every respect than it would if he lived for himself, but at the same time it will be richer, more beautiful, and happier. It will become, instead of mere living, a real experience of life."

"RENUNCIATION of thinking is a declaration of spiritual bankruptcy. Where there is no longer a conviction that men can get to know the truth by their own thinking, scepticism begins. Those who work to make our age sceptical in this way, do so in the expectation that, as a result of renouncing all hope of self-discovered truth, men will end by accepting as truth what is forced upon them with authority and by propaganda."

SCOT Critic

"THE se more ad about AL tor of Eu To m an object

RADI Mo

THE fr fing cord of 1 To init "Lift Up introducti Marsh, a the other suffering was inspi disposal t Year", ai wand and able, it w Knowir "Schoolr among m must ded rare samr able of r environm When l passing c of Antor Leo Rabi the atmo were stil mind, sir nostalgic author o in a Gerr as the w his face was bei through record of to the BI

As we Knight (Home), barking children, "I am faith", s her with ting thrc of realit "A sy: must sati orthodox goodness to be w ceivable the your balance We d "once c orthodox Her rem substance There The r cause it burning, and glot cathedra hideous, pleats th wept.

As this reserve the publication to make it we reason: urge organ

STOCKI 93 Lower Visit to Cl

SHEFFI Cong. Ch. Service lec FOR

LONDO Ho., 179a Tribunal. Rd. Elthar

LONDO House Ch. Sufi Servic man PPU OKESIA Liberal H: "The Qui welcome.

KINGST Ho., Eden Public Me with the (FOR. PPC

HYDE Action Gr

MANCI Ste. Ch Methodist

NOTTE Old Mark FOR. PP

LONDO of St. Ge lunch-hou Peace, C different LOND pard Ho. Youth Ac

... the Musician

"THE greatness, the genius"—one searches vainly for terms that will more adequately describe one's feelings about Albert Schweitzer, the Triple Doctor of Europe and Africa.

To musicians he has always been an object of intense interest, admiration and

RADIO By Joseph Fleming
Margaret Knight says it

THE frayed edge of 1954 having slipped our fingers, we clutched eagerly the golden cord of 1955.

To initiate a good resolution we listened to "Lift Up Your Hearts" (Home), a spiritual introduction to the year. The speaker, John Marsh, a headmaster—with one eye on heaven, the other on the cold war, and presumably suffering from a hang-over of intolerance—was inspired, during the five minutes at his disposal to wish his listeners "A Happy New Year", and suggest "If I could wave a magic wand and make the Soviet Union more amenable, it would indeed be a happy new year!"

Knowing from experience that the quip "Schoolmasters are men among boys and boys among men" is a facetious exaggeration, we must deduce it was justly provoked by those rare samples of the profession who are incapable of rising above their everyday adolescent environment.

When hearing the first-hand account of the passing of a cherished author, "The Death of Anton Chekhov" (Third), by his friend Leo Rabeneck, one followed the incidents in the atmosphere of his creations. The details were still strikingly clear in the narrator's mind, simply told, with deep sympathy and nostalgic reminiscence. It is small wonder the author of THE CHERRY ORCHARD—who died in a German hotel in 1904—appeared to smile as the waving light from torches fell across his face on that dark night when his body was being carried, in a sitting position, through the streets in a laundry basket! A record of the talk will make a notable addition to the BBC library.

Youth and Religion

As we expected when listening to Margaret Knight on "Morals Without Religion" (Home), the editorial hounds of the press are barking furiously in defence of our morals, children, religion and Church.

"I am not out to destroy the Christian faith", she said, then proceeded to lay about her with the calm majesty of a thinker cutting through complacency to the bare bones of reality.

"A system of belief that is to be acceptable must satisfy the ordinary criteria of reason—orthodox Christian beliefs do not—tying up goodness with church, learning that death is to be welcomed", learning later "every conceivable means is adopted to avoid it" shocks the young at a critical age when they cannot balance "these contradictory truths."

We disagree with Margaret Knight that "once our sense of moral values, based on orthodox religion, has collapsed, all is lost." Her remedy, "Scientific Humanism" has no substance other than words.

There is a reality; Jesus the man.

The moral teaching of the Church fails because it springs from a source which permitted burning, hanging and torture to His honour and glory; liars to wage war in His name; cathedrals to be decked with the shameful, hideous, vile rags of war, folding in their pleats the grief of mothers, who, with Jesus, wept.

such being the nature of his researches into the aesthetics of music, especially the music of J. S. Bach, an object also of rather uneasy speculation. He has, in fact, forced us to think out certain matters afresh. And in doing that we have come sufficiently near to his mind and spirit to realise the unimpeachable integrity of this great human being. And so it is that although we may still question his conclusions in the domain of aesthetics and may have divided opinions about his manner of performing and interpreting music, we cannot do less than venerate a man of such towering spiritual stature.

SCHWEITZER'S musical activities are two-fold: the organist and interpreter, the research student and writer. Both have the music of J. S. Bach as focal point. Each is complementary to the other.

His playing has a penetrating quality in which the personality of the man, though always apparent, is yet never insistent; or never so pertinently insistent as to swamp the music. He has ever been an individual interpretative artist but too fine and deep a musician to permit his own individuality to hide Bach from his audience.

I recall performances by him in this country which for me have illumined Bach's music strongly. It has been as though, in work after work, a beam of light had been cast on this music from a new and quite unexpected angle; so that details hitherto hidden were revealed and the whole texture of the work given a new depth, the music a fresh perspective. And all this without that distortion which so harms the music and annoys the listener when details are drawn attention to simply at the whim of a performer's desire for personal display. With Schweitzer I never felt that he was intent on anything but the music.

IT may well be that the immense fame of Schweitzer of Lambarene swayed our critical estimate of Schweitzer of Alsace, the pupil of Widor, as we listened to his organ playing. It is not easy to separate out and keep distinct the different strands in so varied a career as his; and one was inevitably conscious of the Doctor of Medicine while listening to the Doctor of Music. Was not the organ recital that evening in aid of his hospital in equatorial Africa?

But after the emotion of the moment there remained a residue of memory which his actual playing and still more his interpretation of Bach kept alive. I do not think we were much misled by his other fame.

WHEN we came to his writings about Bach some of us were pulled up short; for it seemed then, and to the present writer still seems, that in his search for a formula by which precise meanings could be attached to this or that melodic phrase or harmonic process in Bach's music Schweitzer unwittingly took his argument beyond the bounds of reason.

The matter is dealt with in his fascinating AESTHETIC OF J. S. BACH to which the reader is referred, since no single sentence such as I have written here can begin to do justice to the scope of Schweitzer's study.

It is his desire to share his experience of Bach's music with others, a desire that springs from his profound feeling for his fellow mortals that has led him to explore and thereafter to explain the subtle workings of Bach's mind. That may be artistically questionable. It is humanly most honourable. Thus it is that many musicians feel the glow of pride, having such a man in their profession.

Humility—and common-sense

DR. DONALD SOPER has advised us to practise the lovely Christian virtue of humility in our attitude to Russia. May I say in this context humility is reinforced by common-sense? It is only necessary to see things in proper perspective and we at once become sane.

After centuries of evolution we achieved political democracy, which really dates from the birth of the Labour Party, and have lately progressed to the economic democracy of the Welfare State. Other nations, much less favourably circumstanced than we, have been called upon suddenly to wipe out centuries of poverty and illiteracy. They have been compelled to take the short cut. Communism was their only possible choice.

India might be adduced as a contradictory instance. But India, apart from having reaped some benefits from British tutelage, has remained outside the range of two world wars. Can one imagine that any Russian democracy would have made sufficient technological progress to stand up to the armies of Hitler, who in "Mein Kampf" said the Russians could not turn out a motor-car that would go? It is not necessary to list the special calamities of China, where even the genuine democrat Sun Yat Sen realised that democracy was getting nowhere.

This does not mean that we should approve of all the actions of the Communist powers, but even Russia's worst crime, the mopping up of the satellite states, was due to that insane fear which dictates the policy of most so-called civilised states today.

D. G. WILLIAMS.

153 Finlay Rd., Gloucester.

Pacifists and Communists

I FIND I cannot agree with the Rev. Geoffrey Paget King's "either or" (Peace News, December 31, 1952). It is not, in my view, true that there is no choice for the pacifist but to work with all movements that want no war with Russia regardless of the means they use, or become ineffective.

I do not recall, when Mosley was running his Peace Campaign in 1937 and '38 that pacifists were urged to "travel" with the fascists for the purpose of increasing the numbers who wanted no war with Germany. Numbers and large movements are not synonymous with effectiveness, and it is of vital importance that people undertaking propaganda work should believe wholeheartedly in the means by which they hope to achieve their ends.

For instance, I myself am convinced (and by convinced I mean that I hold a conviction which derives from deep thought and consideration) that efforts to achieve the banning of nuclear weapons, even if they were effective, which is highly unlikely, are utterly futile as a means of preventing war. Weapons have been banned in the past, such as "dum-dum" bullets and gas, but that has not had the slightest effect upon the policies which make for war.

The question is, am I, strongly believing this, to spend my time and energy going around asking people to sign petitions, for the banning of the weapons? Am I to do this simply because others believe it to be a step towards peace? Am I, in fact, to follow what I am certain is the wrong way, just because there will be large numbers going that way?

This does not mean that I am at war, "cold" or "hot" with those who do believe in this. If these others, who are not pacifists, are our "fellow travellers," as the Rev. Paget King asserts, of course, I have no objection to their travelling with me, but surely I am not to be asked to travel into what seems to me to be a dead-end and a ditch just for the sake of being alongside of more people than there are in the pacifist movement.

I do not think small numbers mean ineffectiveness; there were only twelve disciples. What matters is the means to be adopted, and those who are undertaking the work must believe in the means. The convictions and the conscience cannot be coerced; it is to be hoped that there will be tolerance and understanding for the other man's convictions—on both sides.

SYBIL MORRISON.

Five year peace plan

A GENERAL ELECTION may happen at least within the next twelve months. It might be a good thing to have an up-to-date practical programme to put before all MPs on total disarmament with a maximum period of ten years, but scheduled for five, if preliminary steps are found easier than expected.

It must be admitted however that as much disruption and unemployment in industry would follow complete and immediate disarmament, a workable scheme would have to be devised to employ the temporary displaced workers and also "National Service" men, as well as "Regulars." It may be that considerable numbers, if the right inducements were given, might volunteer to stay behind in the underdeveloped colonies and swell the labour forces of reconstruction and development.

I think the farce of "Peace through Fear" is nearly played out. Cannot we prove to the men of affairs that we have a practical plan? Something which is bold and will appeal to the public imagination?

WESLEY BROOME.

31 Como Rd., Forest Hill, S.E.23.

Letter from USA

From page two

possibly aim at the revival of old discredited capitalist parties.

Djilas made a very important comment on the relation between Russia and Yugoslavia which has a bearing on one aspect of the Tito-Nehru statement and on the concept of a true Third Camp policy.

Djilas agrees that the "normalisation" of relations between the two countries is desirable but warns that it cannot be assumed that Russia is "changing her essence". Therefore, "unless Yugoslavia continues to emphasise her ideological differences"—i.e. becomes truly democratic and Socialist, abjuring totalitarianism—"Russian influence will be strengthened", i.e. Yugoslavia will be drawn into the Russian power orbit.

As we have often pointed out, if there is as a matter of fact no socio-economic and cultural regime which offers a genuine alternative to both capitalism and totalitarian Communism, the non-aligned countries will eventually be drawn into one or other of these blocs.

Not Gandhian

One final observation. There is no specific comment on the Djilas interview as reported here on the issue of non-violence to which Nehru and Tito devoted so much space. This is regrettable because it cannot be said that the Indian and Yugoslav governments, which behave much as other governments do in spending about as much on their military establishments as the economy can bear, themselves operate on anything like a Gandhian basis. Yet this is an issue which governments today have to do more than make statements about. For if the non-aligned countries are as a matter of fact armed, their military establishments will inevitably be coveted by Russia and the USA and be liable either to destruction by one; in order to keep them out of the hands of the other, or forced to join alliances; and in that case, as Nehru and Tito correctly pointed out, they will themselves constitute a power bloc and a threat to peace.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Friday, January 14
STOCKPORT: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 93 Lower Hillgate. Charles Royle, MP, "My Visit to China." SoF.

Saturday, January 15
SHEFFIELD: 3.30 p.m.; Queen's Street Cong. Ch. Sheffield For. Area Re-dedication Service led by Rev. Frank Dice. Pooled tea. For.

LONDON, S.E.18: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 179a Eglinton Rd., Plumstead Mock Tribunal. Buses 53, 53a, 54, 153 to Herbert Rd., Eltham PPU.

Sunday, January 16
LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.; King's Welsh House Church, Binney St. (nr. Bond St. Stn.). Suit Service. Discourse by Miss L. Hayat Bouman PPU Religion Commission.
OXFORD: 3.30 p.m.; Women's Liberal Hall, St. James St. George H. Gorman. "The Quakers, Their Story and Message." All welcome.

Tuesday, January 18
KINGSTON-ON-THAMES: Friends Mtg. Ho., Eden St. (next door YMCA, near station). Public Meeting. Gerald Bailey MA. "Peace with the Communists—Is it Possible?" APF. For. PPU. SoF.

Every week!

SUNDAYS
HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS
MANCHESTER: 1.2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MFF.

WEDNESDAYS
NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. For. PPU.

THURSDAYS
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (Hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organisers (and secretary's address) preferably in that order and style.

Wednesday, January 19
BIRMINGHAM: 7.15 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., Holloway Head. Members' Meeting. West Midlands Area PPU.

BRISTOL: 7 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Broadweir. Programme and Business. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 12.30 p.m.; Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Minnie Pallister. "Forty Years in the Peace Movement." Women's International League.

Thursday, January 20
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Michael Sorensen. "IVSP." PPU.

LONDON, W.11: 7.30 p.m.; 19 Pembroke Villas. Dorothy Pickles. "The Saar and other Problem Territories." IVSP.

Friday, January 21
GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.; Community Ho., Clyde St. 1. Group mtg. PPU.

Saturday, January 22
BRISTOL: 4.30 p.m.; Horfield Friends Mtg. Ho., 300 Gloucester Rd. Social evening. Tea, supper. Collection for WRI. PPU.

Sunday, January 23
LONDON, W.C.1: 2.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Conference for Young Men considering standing as Conscientious Objectors. Speaker, Bernard Withers (Sec. C.B.C.O.). Tea provided.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 12 noon; Five Ways Cafe. Annual Mtg. Election of Officers, etc. S.E. Area PPU.

Thursday, January 27
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 120 Heath St. Hugh Brock (Nat. Chairman, PPU). "Every Pacifist a Public Relations Officer." PPU.

Wednesday, February 2
BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends' Inst. Frederick St. William Boyd. "Reconciliation in Industry." For.

Thursday, February 3
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Dennis Player. "Spanish Holiday." PPU.

Thursday, February 10
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Arthur Hadley. "Justice." PPU.

Thursday, February 17
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. J. Allen Skinner (Editor, Peace News). "The Third Way." PPU.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pennies. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

MEETINGS

FRIENDS HOUSE, Euston Rd., NW1. Public Meeting. Save the Anglo-Soviet Treaty Stop German Rearmament. Dean of Canterbury, Pat Sloan. Chair: Andrew Rothstein. 7.30 p.m., Friday, January 21. Tickets 1s. from British Soviet Friendship Socy., 36 Spencer St., E.C.1. Cash and s.a.e. with order.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

LONDON NATURAL HEALTH SOCIETY. 7.25 p.m., Third Monday each month. Alliance Hall, Palmer St., S.W.1. Jan. 17: J. Keith Blagrove, D.O., M.R.O. "The Feet You Stand On." Free.

ACCOMMODATION WANTED AND OFFERED

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. CANBURY 1340, Telke Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

AGM DELEGATE recommends Shayler for board or bed and breakfast.

MIDDLE-AGED GENTLEMAN, pacifist, well-educated, out at business all day, seeks a warm, comfortably-furnished bed-sitting room, with breakfast only, in congenial atmosphere. Anywhere in London area. Box No. 594.

PERSONAL

"ELIJAH COMING Before Christ," wonderful book free. Mesquido Mission, Dept. 13, Rochester 19, N.Y.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

WOMAN, 30. Educated. Seeks Penfriends either sex. Pacifist, socialist, agnostic. Box No. 593.

LITERATURE

ALBERT SCHWEITZER'S lecture on "The Problem of Peace," is obtainable in pamphlet form, price 4td. (2s. 6d. a dozen), post free, from Housmans, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

BOOKS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION are available from Housmans Bookshop. Profits on sales help Peace News. Why not order all your books from Housmans, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4?

FOR YOUR MEETING. Don't forget that Housmans can supply all your literature requirements and quantities of Peace News. Send a postcard to Housmans Bookshop (Peace News), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

FIRST-CLASS duplicating/typing. Mabel Eyles Secretarial Service, 395 Hornsey Rd., N.19. ARC. 1765. Ext. 1.

SITUATIONS VACANT

IF YOU WANT TO HELP PEACE you can't do better than give a hand at Peace News. Volunteers welcome for daytime work and every Wednesday evening. Write, call or phone STA. 2262, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4 (above stationers, Fish & Cook). Nearest Tube: Finsbury Pk.

FOR SALE

HOUSMANS STATIONERY DEPT. offer plain postcards, 2s. 6d. 100; 6 x 3 1/2 envelopes, white 18s. 6d., 1,000 box; manilla, 10s. 9d., 1,000 box; white bank paper, 10 x 8 in., 7s. 6d. 500 sheets; Newswrappers, 10 x 5 in., 15s. 1,000, 1s. 9d. 100; plain economy labels, 4 1/2 x 3 1/2 in., 13s. 6d., 1,000, 1s. 6d., 100. All post free.

Peace News in Canada and the USA

AIR EXPRESS EDITION to US and all parts of America, from Peace News US Sales Office, c/o American Friends Service Committee, 130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass. (mailed on publication day).

\$4 year. \$2 six months. New readers: 3 months trial, \$1.

HOLIDAYS

CARDIGAN BAY. Sea and Mountains. Vegetarians welcome. 5 gns. weekly. Trevor and Mary Jepson, Brackenbury, Fairbourne, Merioneth.

SPEND YOUR HOLIDAY in the Lake District this year. Highfield Vegetarian Guest House, The Heads, Keswick, offers magnificent views, attractive food and comfort in friendly atmosphere. Anne Horner. Phone: Keswick 508.

9 PEACE NEWS FOR 2s. 6d.

A SPECIAL OFFER FOR NEW READERS

For 2s. 6d. the next 9 weekly issues of PEACE NEWS are posted to you.

Please send PEACE NEWS for.....

to the name and address below.

I enclose £.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

STANDARD RATES:

1 year £1 1s. Od. 24 weeks 10s. Twelve weeks 5s. or order from your newsagent

PEACE NEWS,

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Both East and West in error

□ FROM PAGE ONE

If the present phase of co-existence in fear does not lead to a new co-existence in the fear of God and so to true peace, "it will shrivel, into a frozen paralysis of international life." The race in armaments must cause disastrous repercussions in economic development.

Restraints will lead to the desperate outlet of war. Even agreements to limit arms would become a source of mutual distrust without the moral foundation of a fear of God.

BOTH SIDES IN ERROR

The message points out two of the errors into which both East and West have fallen. The one concerns the ascendancy of economics. On the one hand, one side professes to a belief that man will also be able to organise the liberation of life from all privations and evils—a kind of self-redemption. On the other, that the solution of the problem of peace must be sought in economics, and particularly in free exchange, as though there were some mystical force in economics.

Indeed there is a real danger in the possibility that one or other of the groups might engage in a constant raising of their own standard of life without regard to others.

The other error into which both camps have fallen concerns the principles which animate their unity. One camp bases its strong internal cohesion on the false idea which violates primary human and divine rights. The other, forgetful that it possesses the right basic conception, is adopting political principles which are destructive of unity.

CO EXISTENCE IN TRUTH

The Pope then passes to the alternative of co-existence in truth. The bridge which has to be built must be based on human beings and not governments or social systems, and here his great hope lies in the fact that on both sides there are millions of Christians.

Finally the Pope addresses a special appeal to all Catholic priests and laity for greater recognition of their social obligations as Catholics in the field of politics and economics.

The position which the Vatican now takes would seem to be very close to that of those who see the Third Way in terms of the refusal to take sides in the Cold War and the desire to work out a new order of society and to support the War on Want, but, while opposing any military alliances, are not prepared to advocate a completely unarmed neutrality.

With the main argument and conclusions of his Holiness, pacifists also will be in general agreement. There is great need for clarification of the meaning of co-existence. If co-existence only means a perpetuation of the cold war, it can never become co-operation. Indeed we can never be satisfied with *existence*.

Special offer to PN Readers

Late production seriously curtailed distribution of our very attractive

Peaceful England Postcard Calendar for 1955

Designed in four colours, by Dennis James, each month tears off as an attractive picture postcard, with peace quotations by Schweitzer, Gandhi, Penn, Soper and others. Two hundred only left.

REDUCED TO 1/6 EACH POST FREE or seven for ten shillings

A few copies remain of the

1955 PEACE DIARY

with 16 pages of valuable information for pacifists and all usual diary features.

2/8 EACH POST FREE

ENDSLEIGH CARDS, 3 Blackstock Rd, London N.4

ON CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES PAX OPPOSES WAR AND CONSCRIPTION

Will such Christians in our country form a mighty league of conscientious non-combatants?

—ARCHBISHOP MCNICHOLAS, O.P., OF CINCINNATI, LENT, 1938.

For information and advice write to: The Secretary, Pax, 27 Great James St. London, W.C.1

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

SPIRITUAL UNFOLDMENT

Discussion, Meditation

Open Meetings on Tues, Thurs, Sat, at 7.30 p.m. Mr. G. Moss 44 (not 40) Ashley Road, N.19. ARChway 5624.

It is life, full, abundant, free and shared by all, for which we must strive.

The insistence on a moral basis in truth and love for any co-existence is timely, but I wish that the Pope had been more forthright in his denunciation of war.

While all his arguments and his appeal are directed to the renunciation of war, he cannot avoid bringing in the traditional Catholic distinction between the just and the unjust war.

No modern war could possibly fulfil all the conditions for a just war. To suggest that there might be a just war, places the Pope among those very statesmen whom he indicates have not the courage to treat the problem of war as one of conscience before God, but who weigh the advantages and risks of their decisions.

What an appeal the Pope could have if he plainly asserted that there can be no war of which Christian conscience could approve!

Boycott S. African goods — VICAR

"DON'T buy South African goods," a London vicar urges his parishioners.

In this way they will help to show their distaste for the policies of South Africa's white boss government.

The vicar is Rev. Hubert Trapp of St. Mary Magdalene's Church, Paddington. Many coloured people live in the area.

In a letter to parishioners Mr. Trapp says that the new Premier of South Africa, Mr. H. F. Verwoerd, is responsible for "a white barbarism to make slaves of eight million coloured people."

Mr. Trapp has drawn up a list of goods to be boycotted, including oranges, tinned fruit, tinned meat, fruit juices, sweet corn and wine. He has instructed his housekeeper that he does not want anything from South Africa in his house. "I will not put money in the pocket of that Government," he says.

"Shanty Town" Exhibition in London

THE Bishop of Johannesburg and Miss Josephine Douglas (producer of the stage version of "Cry the Beloved Country") will open an exhibition of photographs of South Africa's "Shanty Towns" in London next month.

The exhibition, by internationally-known photographer Brian Heseltine, who used to live in Cape Town, is sponsored by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Captions to the pictures will name the place and describe the conditions shown.

The exhibition will be held in the Crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, and will be opened at 3 p.m. on Tuesday, February 1.

After the London showing, the exhibition will go on tour for two years.

Fenner Brockway, MP for Easter Youth Conference

"PARTNERS in Peacemaking" will be the theme of a youth holiday conference to be held at Easter at The Mount, Haverhill in Suffolk.

The conference, which is being organised by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, will consider such questions as: Can we ensure that science is used for good? Is the individual helpless—or hopeless? Is world hunger inevitable? Can the Church unite the world?

Speakers will include Fenner Brockway, MP, chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom; Jack Boag, a scientist engaged in medical research, who has recently returned from the United States; and Joyce Stewart, science mistress at King Edward VI Grammar School, Birmingham, who is Birmingham's treasurer of the For.

RESISTANCE TO CONSCRIPTION

NEXT week Peace News will publish the full story, by Fenner Brockway, MP, of the resistance to conscription when the call-up was first introduced in Britain.

His account of the way in which resistance was organised is important today. The youth of Germany now face a similar struggle and it is hoped that much of what Fenner Brockway wrote at the close of World War I will be reprinted in the German press.

BRIEFLY . . .

At a meeting in Stuttgart organised by Socialist Youth Groups 1,200 young people expressed their strong opposition to the formation of a new German army. They plan to hold a big demonstration in the streets of Stuttgart in the near future.

The National Peace Council is to hold a week-end conference for young people on "Co-existence". It will be held at Beatrice Webb House, Dorking, Surrey over the week-end Feb. 25-27. Talks will be introduced by young people who have themselves visited Communist countries in the last twelve months.

Age limits for the conference are 18-30 years. The cost from Friday supper to Sunday tea is £2. Application forms may be obtained from the General Secretary, NPC, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1.

HIDDEN WINDFALL

... These islands now form part of Europe; our Air Force must have depth. We can help to hold the ring in Europe . . . only if we continue our present system of National Service.

—Lt. Gen. Sir Brian Horrocks. The Observer, January 9, 1955.

A War Office Committee is now considering the future of National Servicemen serving in anti-aircraft regiments . . . approximately 60,000 National Service troops will be involved . . . It is to be hoped that the Government will use this windfall of part-time National Servicemen to form the nucleus of a trained and disciplined civil defence corps.

—The Daily Telegraph, January 10, 1955.

THE outcry that arose after the showing on TV of George Orwell's "1984" goes to prove, perhaps, how great a hold the ostrich-like determination not to face facts has gained upon the majority of people today.

So-called civilisation moves onward (if it can be said to be a forward move at all) to the tune of more and more mechanization of every aspect of life; the Welfare State, with its forms and formulas, tends to lump more and more people together as a whole without differentiation; the "cold war" machine brings more and more men and women into a uniform pattern of obedient slaves.

This is still a far cry from Orwell's Dictator-State, where man has delivered himself, body and soul, to "The Regime," but the very fact that this horror has been gradually creeping upon us is over-looked, and British people accept their slavery without protest, in ignorance, it would appear, of the approach of the most formidable threat to individual liberty that their own country has ever known.

The first world war was a long drawn out misery of battles and blockades fought in mud and slime with rifles and shells, submarines and tanks. But there was still some remains, amid all the regimentation, of individuality. There were casualty lists issued every day indicating name and rank of each man dead, or wounded, or taken prisoner, and there were cemeteries, where men were buried with individual names on the little tragic crosses above the graves; there were Memorials with the lists of those missing engraved upon them, and finally the sentimental journey and interment of the Unknown Warrior.

But, in the second world war the mass slaughter made this individual treatment impossible. Moreover, the fear which might cause a collapse of public morale had to be overcome, and so it came about that "persons" became impersonal.

As ship after ship, carrying thousands of men, each of whom mattered in their own personal lives, went down before the onslaught of Hitler's submarines, the news of their deaths was given, not as—so many "men drowned" but as so many "tons of shipping lost."

In the same way, those who were destroyed, buried alive, blinded and burned in the air-raids became "the bombed out," and those airmen shot down while attacking the enemy

SEND PEACE NEWS TO SOMEONE ELSE

This week's special Schweitzer Birthday Number of Peace News has an almost unlimited appeal for thoughtful people.

Half-a-crown will bring you a dozen copies by return of post and post free to distribute to people who have not seen the paper before.

Send for them now.

Sales last week 10,550 (Home Edition 9,300; Air Express 1,250).

14-year-old's letter took the headlines

FOURTEEN-YEAR-OLD Margaret Wright of Manchester stole the headlines in the Manchester Evening News reader's page on January 7 with a letter about the TV feature "War in the Air."

She wrote:

After watching "War in the Air" on TV I thought of all the suffering and pain that is caused by war. I knew that I was ignorant of the facts of war but what gain is got from it?

Men are always seeking for adventure. It gives a man enough of that and it always provides him with something to talk about. But is war worth it?

In my eyes it proves man's irresponsibility to his children. Men have children and it is their job to bring up those children—to love them, to feed them, and to clothe them. But how can they keep that duty if they are busy killing off other men's children.

Because of war children are made orphans, or made homeless, and many thousands lose their lives.

Many, too many, are made refugees. They are brought up in camps, sometimes apart from their mothers and fathers.

Every child comes into this world the same. All children's individual needs are equal. Why then should some have to suffer because of the foolishness of men?

War spends vital money needed for new buildings and homes. Many soldiers, sailors and airmen say they are Christians. But how can they be, when the person they profess to believe in is Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace? I cannot understand how "war brings peace."

I know that since the last war living conditions have improved but still I am wondering if wars are necessary and if there are other ways . . .

ABOUT HALF THE TOTAL NUMBER of scientists in the United States are engaged on work for war purposes, according to Mr. Wilson, US Defence Secretary.

towns and cities, were merely "bombers not returned from operations."

Because people could not bear to think of those they loved struggling in the bitter seas until they choked and died, gasping their life breath away beneath tons of fallen masonry, or burning to death in flaming, crashing aeroplanes, they quickly accepted this new way of referring to human beings. "Loss of life was negligible" became a common phrase, and no one asked "whose negligible life?"

Now, as war preparations continue unabated, young men who have been conscripted for this purpose have received the rather magnificent title of National Servicemen, and when the utterly obsolete and completely useless Anti-Aircraft Command disappears the release of some, 60,000 of these young men for some other futility is greeted as "a windfall."

The dictionary definition of "a windfall" is "anything blown down or off by the wind." The wind that blows these men into a farcical Civil Defence Corps, is, in fact, the icy blast of the "cold war" and the men caught in it are no longer "persons" but merely "things."

So long as all these tendencies towards a regimented existence are carefully wrapped up in words not related to human lives, the public will continue with their heads in the sand, while "1984" comes that much nearer.

It is to be hoped that some of them, at least, will look up in time to join with those who are determined to resist the insidious breaching of our much vaunted liberty. It is wars and war policies which have brought it about; it is against war that the stand must be made, and made now.

PRINTING

MAGAZINES · PAMPHLETS
NEWSLETTERS · POSTERS
Reports, Balance Sheets, and
all Commercial Printing

Enquiries receive prompt attention:

C. A. BROCK & Co.
LIMITED
79 SOUTHERN ROW, LONDON, W10

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi
in 1903

For the moral, political and
social advancement of Indians
in South Africa

Published Every Friday
Thirty Shillings Annually

APPLY

The Manager
Indian Opinion
P. Bag, Phoenix, Natal, S. Africa

SCHWEITZER

Some important books

The works of Dr. Albert Schweitzer include—

MY LIFE AND THOUGHT 15s.

(Second Edition, with a new chapter)

ON THE EDGE OF THE PRIMEVAL FOREST 5s.

(New Edition)

THE QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL JESUS 18s.

(New Edition, with new Introduction by the Author)

FROM MY AFRICAN NOTEBOOK 8s. 6d.

MEMOIRS OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH 5s.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD 7s. 6d.

His biographers—

ALBERT SCHWEITZER: THE MAN AND HIS MIND 25s.

by George Sewer.

(Fourth Edition, with 30 illustrations)

ALBERT SCHWEITZER: HIS LIFE AND IDEALS 7s. 6d.

by Jacques Feschotte.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER: HIS WORK AND HIS PHILOSOPHY 8s. 6d.

by Oskar Kraus.

Full list of Schweitzer works on Theology, Philosophy, Music, etc., sent on request.

Please add 6d. postage on orders under £1

HOUSMAN'S BOOKSHOP

The Peace News Booksellers

3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Peace News Ltd. Printed by Fish & Cook Ltd., The Grouse Press (T.U.) 115 Fonthill Rd., London, N.4. Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.